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improvident or reckless in the utilization of their supplies. The lavish expenditure of live stock and grain prescribed, according to Tale cultural values, for certain ritual and ceremonial occasions merely emphasizes their normal frugality. 'They rebuke you, saying, will you not listen? The time will come when you will wish for cow-peas and there won't be any. Don't you know that hunger is coming? Truly you behave like infants.' These were the words in which an adolescent boy described how the head of a household restrains his children when, at the time the cow-peas are harvested, they snatch handfuls to cook and eat. It is typical of the same attitude that a man should sometimes store part of his ground-nut crop with a friend or relative in order to remove from his household the temptation to fritter it away in unnecessary sporadic eating.

Why then do the Tallensi not preserve their major crop till the rainy season, which they know well enough to be the time of most exacting labour, and live sparingly during the leisure of the dry season? An explanation would require an analysis of the whole of Tale cultural and social life, a task we cannot pursue here. If the correlation observed above is also found with other African peoples, as is not unlikely, it would indicate that a purely physiological or biochemical approach to the study of a native food economy rests upon questionable assumptions. An instinct of self preservation, 'survival value', or a direct correspondence between their biochemical requirements and the system of food economy would presumably have been reflected in a more adequate seasonal organization of the latter. Culturally determined motives seem, however, to be as significant as physiological factors in this regard.[1]

CONVERSION OF THE RAW MATERIALS. We have seen how the raw materials were produced and otherwise brought into the compound by the joint efforts of man, woman, and child. We have studied the fluctuations in the food supply from season to season. We will now

[1] A neat illustration of how cultural and psychological factors affect the food values and economy of the natives is shown in the exceptional care they devote to their tobacco patches. The same care expended on their farms would go a long way towards raising the subsistence level; yet recurrent food shortages have apparently not brought this home to them.

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(ii) *Farms Separate from the Compound Farm, but not in "Bush".* 241

These farms are seldom manured and only rarely are they sufficiently fertile to grow a crop of early millet as well as another cereal; they are treated in the same way, therefore, as those parts of the compound farm which lie outside the sphere of manuring. If there is no land in the compound farm suitable for groundnuts, the farm may have been specially selected for this crop. The general treatment of these farms is the same as that described for the compound farm; but since no early millet is planted, there is no great hurry at the beginning of the season and the farm receives attention when work on the compound farm is well in hand.

Under this heading should be mentioned the dry season tobacco cultivation on the river flats between Bolgatanga and Winkogo and, to lesser extent, at Sambruno and elsewhere. This is a specialised cultivation of importance in these places. The land is fertile because it receives some of the goodness leached out from the surrounding country. In a season when rains fall early, a crop of early millet may be taken off before the land becomes water-logged. In August and September tobacco seed-beds are prepared; the seedlings are transplanted in October and November as the water-table recedes. The tobacco is harvested in January, February, and March. 249●

(iii) *Bush Farms.*

Bush farms are found only in areas where unoccupied land is not more than a mile or two away from the compound. They are frequently made on hill-sides where the soil is shallow and weed growth is not very vigorous. Little is done beyond planting the seed and giving a single hoeing. Guinea corn and cowpeas alternated with late millet and cowpeas is the usual cropping until yields fall off; the farm is then left to recuperate for a few years. In a lucky season fair yields may be reaped, and any yield is considered a good return for the small amount of labour expended. It is necessary to mention that in the south of Kusasi Area, and in the south-east of Zuarungu Area, yams are grown in bush farms, and the system of farming followed is typical of South, and not North, Mamprusi. 241

An analysis of the distribution of crops at the ten centres of record is given in Appendix II, Table 5. From this table the following summary (Table 2) has been taken. It shows the crops, and mixtures of crops, and the proportion of the total area cultivated under each, expressed as a percentage for the total area cultivated by 54 recorded compounds. The area manured, as a percentage of the total area cultivated, is also shown.

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and occasionally one or two of cowpeas, are deftly ejected into each hole with the thumb and first fingers; both early millet and cowpeas are sown in the same hole. The seed is then lightly covered with soil and made firm by treading as planting proceeds. It generally takes two or three days to finish sowing early millet, and if the ground is still soft enough, guinea corn, mixed with "neri", is sown immediately, in exactly the same way as early millet and cowpeas, in the spaces between. When the sowing of guinea corn is finished in the compound farm, late millet is sown; it is also used for filling blanks in guinea corn. Attention is next given to the farms away from the compound. All cereals, except rice, are planted by the beginning of May, in a normal season.

Planting Minor Crops.

At the end of April or early in May women plant "bersi" (Nankani) (Hibiscus cannabinus), okra, and "nangina" (Gynandropsis pentaphylla), in beds close to the compound, and "bito" (Hibiscus sabdariffa) at intervals of 2' beside paths and along farm boundaries. Towards the end of May, groundnuts are planted 6" to 18" apart in a manner similar to cereals, except that frequently the land is hoed first. Bambarra beans are planted next, either on the flat, or if the land is wet, on wide ridges. Coleus potatoes and sweet potatoes are planted on ridges in June. Rice is sown at the end of June, alone, or occasionally between guinea corn on wet land; when the water-table rises in late July, rice is thinned and transplanted as opportunity permits. This is also the time for thinning and transplanting late millet; a common practice is to transplant it into groundnut farms. Tobacco seed beds are prepared and sown in August, and the seedlings are transplanted in September and October for the dry season crop.

Crop Varieties.

A number of crop varieties are recognised and although many of the names distinguish only colour factors, other factors, such as earliness of maturity, particular uses, predilection for certain kinds of soil and manure, are known and utilised. With guinea corn, for instance, over a dozen varieties exist.

Cultivation.

Intercultivation starts as soon as crops have germinated, and any manure which was not carried before planting, is applied at this time. Cultivation consists of scraping the top three or four